

Past labour market responses to job losses and the potential impact of welfare reform in the current recession

Paul Sissons

Institute for Employment Studies

DRAFT PAPER PLEASE DO NOT CITE WITHOUT THE AUTHOR'S PERMISSION

Contact details:

Paul Sissons
Institute for Employment Studies
Mantell Building
University of Sussex Campus
Brighton
BN1 9RF
Tel: 01273 873701
paul.sissons@employment-studies.co.uk

Abstract

The job losses which occurred as a result of deindustrialisation in the 1980s and 1990s, fed into a large growth in male economic inactivity, and particularly into an increased number of men claiming Invalidity, subsequently, Incapacity Benefits (IB). This created high rates of IB claiming which have never been satisfactorily addressed in the period since. In October 2008, Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) was introduced for new customers to replace Incapacity Benefit, in subsequent years, between 2009-2013, stock IB claimants will be progressively transferred to the new regime. The changes were designed to both reduce on-flows to the benefit, as well as increase off-flows.

The reforms mean that unlike in past recessions, job losses in the current recession will feed largely into unemployment, which is likely to remain relatively high for a prolonged period, particularly in old industrial areas where it is currently growing most strongly, and where employment levels are predicted to recover most slowly. This will make it much more difficult for the government to achieve its target of significantly reducing the numbers of people on sickness benefits, as such groups are likely to find it increasingly difficult to compete for jobs with newly employed groups. It is therefore argued that more thought needs to go into the balance of policy between supply and demand side interventions.

Keywords: recession, Employment Support Allowance, Incapacity Benefits, labour markets, unemployment

Introduction

In the last twelve months the economy has entered a period deep economic recession, and has begun to experience large numbers of job cuts spread across a range of sectors, and across the country. The timing of the current downturn is significant, coming at a time of fairly wide-ranging and significant welfare reforms. Of particular importance will be the replacement of Incapacity Benefit (IB) with Employment Support Allowance (ESA), a change which was designed to reduce on-flows to sickness benefits and, in the medium term, to also increase off-flows.

This paper explores what past labour market adjustments to job losses might tell us about the implications of the current downturn in demand for labour; it will also discuss how welfare-to-work reforms of the sickness benefit system will affect this; and, how recession will impact on the policy goal of encouraging more people from health-related benefits into employment. The paper focuses primarily on men as they have been disproportionately impacted by previous recessions, and, the emerging evidence suggests this will also be true this time (ONS, 2009)

The growth of, and subsequent partial decline of incapacity, and the recent trends in unemployment are examined using the ONS area classification. The classification is a hierarchical structure, grouping local authority areas which share similar population characteristics; there are 8 supergroups which divide into 13 groups and 24 sub-groups. In this paper the groups are used, as presenting data by sub-group was felt to be too unwieldy. The data cover local authorities in Great Britain¹. The area type groups are:

- Regional Centres
- Centres with Industry
- Thriving London Periphery
- London Suburbs
- London Centre
- London Cosmopolitan
- Prospering Smaller Towns
- New and Growing Towns
- Prospering Southern England
- Coastal and Countryside
- Industrial Hinterlands
- Manufacturing Towns

Labour market responses to the loss of industrial jobs

The huge job losses which occurred as a result of economic restructuring in Britain's industrial communities in the 1980s and 1990s barely increased their unemployment rate, instead they fed largely into increasing male economic inactivity, and specifically into an increased number of men claiming Invalidity, subsequently, Incapacity Benefits (IB) (Turok and Edge, 1999; Beatty and Fothergill, 1996; 1997; Fieldhouse and Hollywood, 1999).

This trend is explained by the strong interactions between different parts of the benefit system, and the large-scale movement of men either direct from work, or via an often short period on unemployment benefits, onto Invalidity, and later, Incapacity Benefits. Number of recipients of Incapacity Benefit (IB) have risen from 700,000 in 1979 to 2.6 million in 1997, and by a further 100,000 after 1997 (DWP, 2005; 41)². The 'benefit shift' from unemployment to sickness benefits was driven by workers discouraged by declining manual job opportunities, and by the

¹ The figures exclude the City of London and the Isles of Scilly

² Similar, though often less pronounced, increases have been observed in other advanced economies (see Kemp, 2006)

financial differentials whereby sickness was compensated more generously by the social security system than unemployment (Bell and Smith, 2004; Fothergill, 2001; Turok and Edge, 1999). The result in depressed labour markets has been to favour being on sickness, rather than unemployment benefits (Webster, 2006; 111). In weak labour markets the low-wages in entry-level jobs have also in the past acted as incentives to claim, and disincentives to leave, sickness benefits (Gregg and Wadsworth, 2000; 517- 518)³. It is also known that those with health-limitations face disadvantage in competing with other groups in the labour market, even when controlling for other factors (Berthoud and Blekesaune, 2006).

Beatty and Fothergill (2004; 5) assert that the great majority of people are not claiming benefits in any sense fraudulently, but that the qualification test for IB, which assessed the ability to undertake certain physical tasks rather than to do any form of work, meant many who could have undertaken some form of work were classified as permanently sick.

It has therefore been argued that Britain's official unemployment measures seriously underestimate real unemployment in areas of labour market disadvantage. Beatty et al. (2004) developed the concept of 'hidden unemployment' to help understand this, they argue that while individuals on IB do have genuine health problems, many could nevertheless have been expected to have been in employment in a more buoyant labour market. The most recent estimate they provide for this is 1.7 million 'hidden unemployed' across Great Britain in 2006 (Beatty et al., 2007).

More recent work has explored the rising number of women claiming Incapacity, the geography of which is almost identical to that of men. The Women on Incapacity Benefit study suggests that 'hidden unemployment', those who could be expected to have been in employment in a 'genuinely fully employed economy', was again the main element of explanation for women, with rising female labour force participation, a diversion of lone parents from Income Support and, to a lesser extent, population aging, as other factors (Beatty et al., 2009; 70-71). This work has also shown that labour markets are over-time becoming less gendered, with men and women in more direct competition for jobs, though this is happening relatively slowly and is not consistent across occupations or sectors (ibid; 36).

It is clear from this body of work the importance of local demand side conditions in accounting for the large geographical differentials in IB claim rates.

³ This is less true since the establishment of Working Tax Credits

Supply and demand side policy

The appropriate balance between supply and demand based policies in areas of high non-employment has been the focus of much academic debate in recent years (examples include Campbell, 2000; Webster, 2000, 2006; Green and Owen, 1998; Peck and Theodore, 2000; Wilson, 2003). However in the UK, government-led employment expansion has slipped almost entirely from the policy agenda with thinking now firmly rooted in supply-side responses to enhance 'employability' through 'flexibility'. For Turok and Edge (1999; viii) policy makers appear to have decided 'either that they cannot influence where jobs get created or that uneven development for labour does not really matter because people will respond through outward migration, wage moderation or retraining'. Debate has therefore focused on barriers to employment rather than on lack of jobs. Some barriers to work are presented as 'structural difficulties' in matching jobseekers to vacancies. These can include poor transport links, the housing market and the fixed costs of taking up employment (Bryson and McKay, 1994; 8). While others cite the importance of 'attitudinal barriers', suggesting the greatest obstacles that the unemployed face are their own attitudes towards work, often emphasising the belief that problems of labour market disadvantage lie in the "preparedness" of those out of work to accept "flexible jobs" (ibid; 8; Peck and Theodore, 2000; 455-456; Peck, 2001; 6).

This has in recent years informed a significant overhaul of public welfare policy in the UK. Drawing particularly on US Workfare experiments, the welfare-to-work agenda has represented a 'paradigm shift' in public welfare (Peck and Theodore, 2001; 450; Martin, 2000; 469; Daguette, 2004; 42). The centrepiece of these reforms has been the establishment of Jobseekers Allowance (JSA) and the roll out of the New Deals. This has now been followed-up by extending the agenda to some inactive groups through the establishment of ESA, and through the reforms to the lone parent obligations.

Such a supply-side focus though neglects the widely varied geography of labour demand which is crucial in determining the success of any intervention. Supply-side measures are often most relevant, and stand the greatest chance of success, in areas where there is strong demand for labour, but have been found to be much less effective where more limited opportunities exist to turn an individual's enhanced employability into employment (Martin, 2000; 469).

Lack of demand for labour can be particularly pronounced in former industrial areas. For example, in their evaluation of the economy in the English and Welsh

Coalfields, Beatty et al. (2005) found that only around 60 per cent of the jobs lost in the coal industry had been replaced⁴.

Supply-side policies are therefore likely to be necessary, but not sufficient, tools for tackling labour market disadvantage.

The introduction of the Employment Support Allowance

The current economic downturn occurs at a time of rapid changes to the welfare and benefits systems, aimed at moving from a passive to an active welfare system, and introduced to meet the governments target aspirations of reaching a working-age employment rate of 80%, and reducing the number of people on incapacity by 1 million by 2015. An important element of these reforms has been the establishment of the Employment Support Allowance (ESA).

On 27 October 2008, ESA was introduced for new customers to replace Incapacity Benefit and Income Support received on the grounds of incapacity. The changes are a response to the welfare reform Green Paper *A new deal for welfare* (2008; 4) which provided the criticism that 'almost nothing is expected of [incapacity] claimants – and little support is offered'. ESA will build on the approaches adopted by the New Deal for Disabled People and Pathways to Work (Pathways). The introduction of the ESA regime has involved a number of important changes to the previous regime including:

- Fewer claimants will be exempt from assessment under the Work Capability Assessment (WCA) than under the old Personal Capability Assessment (PCA) medical regime.
- Most claimants will be expected to be able to prepare for a return to work. The majority of claimants will be go into a Work-Related Activity Group, under which they will receive a Work-Related Activity component (of £24.00 a week) in addition to the basic allowance, as long as they comply with requirements for work-related activity.
- If those in the Work-Related Activity Group do not comply with the regime, they may be sanctioned 50% of their Work-Related Activity component.

The recent welfare reform Green Paper, *No one written off*, outlined a number of proposals to amend the ESA and Pathways regime. The subsequent White Paper, *Raising Expectations*, provided further details about the scope of these proposed

⁴ There is of course a degree of diversity within this, with some of the smaller areas in Leicestershire and Warwickshire 'well on the way to full recovery', while others have made much slower progress (Beatty et al, 2005; 2).

changes, building on recommendations made by Professor Paul Gregg in his review of conditionality, *Realising Potential*. These changes include:

- The WCA will be extended to existing IB customers aged under 25 from 2009. Between 2009 and 2013 all existing IB claimants are to be reassessed using the WCA, and will become subject to the ESA regime.
- There will be a maximum two-year interval between medical assessments.
- In addition there will be the expectation that claimants in the Work Related Activity Group undertake some work-related activity in addition to attending their Work Focused Interviews (WFIs) at Jobcentre Plus (JCP) or a provider.

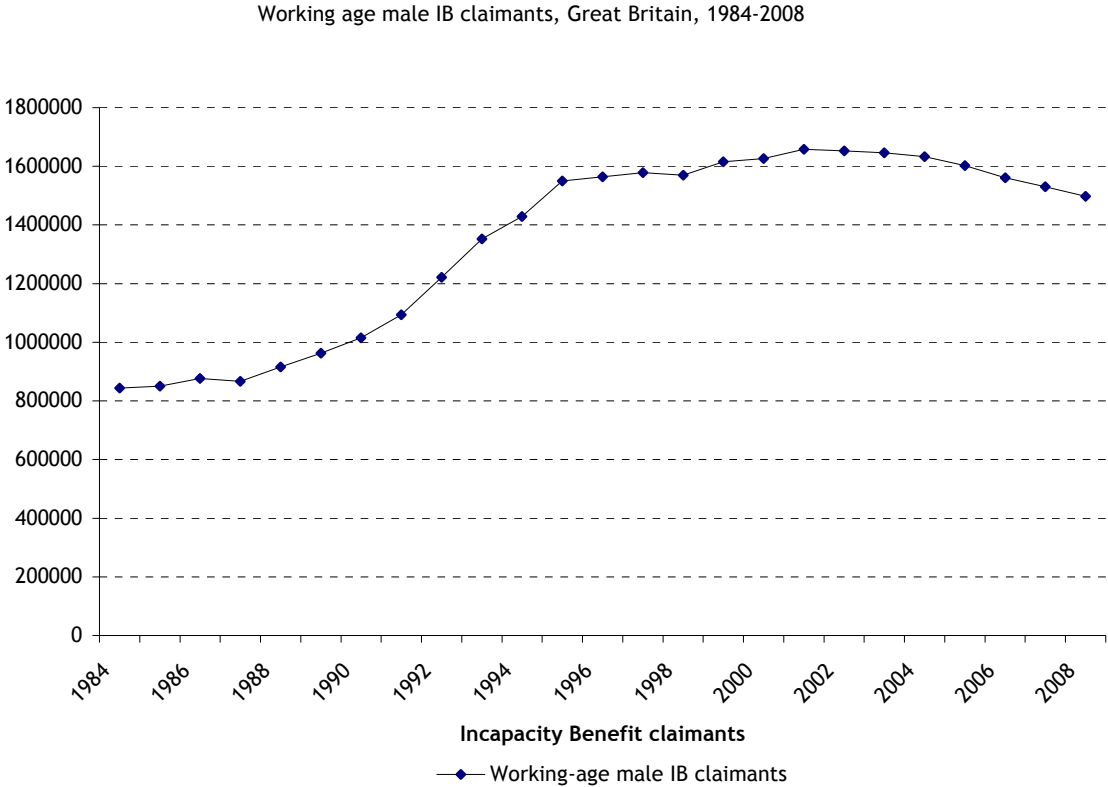
The more stringent medical criteria and more extensive JCP intervention is likely to have two impacts, firstly reducing flows onto the benefit, and secondly increasing flows off from the benefit. It is estimated by DWP that 60,000 more people a year will fail the WCA than previously failed the PCA under IB⁵, and by the 2013 financial year it is estimated that by applying the WCA to the current IB stock claimants the cumulative caseload will be reduced by 75,000 (DWP, 2008).

The growth (and decline) of incapacity claiming

The IB rate in Britain has grown significantly over the last twenty years or so. In 1984, the number of working age male IB claimants stood at 844,200, but by 2001 this had almost doubled, reaching 1,657,800. Since then, and towards the tail end of the long-period of economic growth since the early 1990s recession, the number had begun to fall and was down to 1,479, 200 by 2008 (see Figure 1). Most of this fall has been the result of fewer people entering the register.

⁵ Some of these will then go on to claim JSA

Figure 1: IB only started to dip after a long period of economic growth



Sources: DWP Benefits data, Census, Mid-year Population Estimates

Figure 2 shows the recent fall in the IB rate, the proportion of the working age population claiming IB, by area type since the national male IB claimant number peaked in 2001. All the area types recorded some reduction in their claiming levels, but this was most pronounced in the areas with the highest IB rates. This included a sizeable reduction in the IB claim rate among working age men of 3.1 percentage points in Industrial Hinterlands. There was also a significant drop of 2.2 percentage points in Regional Centres, which are large urban area outside London. This reduction was driven largely by the relatively big declines in the claiming rates in some of the big former industrial cities like Glasgow, Liverpool and Newcastle. There were also relatively big declines in Centres with Industry, again driven to some extent by the bigger cities, in this case Manchester and Birmingham, and there was also a sizeable decline across Manufacturing Towns. These reductions are contrasted with the much smaller declines in more prosperous parts of the country, with reductions of less than one percentage point across London’s Periphery and Suburb areas, and Prospering Small Towns, New and Growing Towns, and Prospering Southern England. However overall claimant rates remained very much lower in these areas.

The reductions detailed in Figure 2 began for the first time in more than 25 years to reverse some of the sustained and embedded labour market disadvantage in former industrial towns and cities.

Figure 2: IB rate change for working age men by ONS area type: 2001-2008

	IB rate May 2001	IB rate May 2008	Percentage points change in IB rate May 2001-2008
Regional Centres	11.8	9.6	-2.2
Centres with Industry	11.8	9.9	-1.9
Thriving London Periphery	5.1	4.8	-0.4
London Suburbs	6.9	6.3	-0.5
London Centre	8.9	7.3	-1.6
London Cosmopolitan	9.5	8.1	-1.4
Prospering Smaller Towns	6.4	5.6	-0.8
New and Growing Towns	6.2	6.0	-0.2
Prospering Southern England	3.7	3.6	-0.1
Coastal and Countryside	9.7	8.5	-1.2
Industrial Hinterlands	15.1	12.0	-3.1
Manufacturing Towns	11.5	9.5	-2.0

Sources: DWP Benefits Data, Census, Mid-Year Population Estimates

The geography of unemployment in the current recession

Attention is now turned to the geography of unemployment in the current recession. The data presented here on unemployment benefits draw on the claimant count data. The claimant count is the number of people claiming unemployment-related benefits, primarily this is Jobseekers Allowance (JSA), but it also includes some people who don't qualify for JSA and receive only National Insurance Credits for being unemployed.

Unemployment can also be measured using the broader International Labor Organisation (ILO) definition which counts anyone who is out of work; is available to start work in the next two weeks; and, has looked for work in the last four weeks. This therefore includes groups who are ineligible to receive Jobseeker's Allowance, for example in cases where they have insufficient NI contributions to enable eligibility for contributions-based JSA, but too much in

household income and savings to qualify for income-based JSA. There are therefore differences between the ILO and the claimant count versions of unemployment. These differences are though known to affect women to a greater degree than men, and also to generally reduce in scope during times of recession (ONS, 2002).

There are though several strengths to using claimant count data, the figures are not based on a survey sample so are extremely reliable, they are the most up-to-date measure of unemployment, and they provide accurate information for small areas like local authority districts and wards. As the data used to produce the ONS group definitions are at Local Authority level, use of the ILO definition drawing on the Annual Population Survey would be subject to a significant degree of error. The use of the claimant count also enables the most recent data to be produced, something of great importance at a time of rapid labour market change. For these reasons unemployment using the claimant count is reported here.

Some notable trends can be seen between the IB figures presented in Figure 2, and the unemployment impacts of the recession, measured by the change in the proportion of the male working age population claiming unemployment benefit, which is reported in Figure 3. What is immediately apparent is the relatively strong growth in the claimant count across all areas, increasing by two percentage points or more in all area types apart from Central London. Within this trend though unemployment does appear to be growing most quickly in those areas with high rates of IB claiming, primarily old industrial areas; increasing by the biggest proportion across the Industrial Hinterland and Manufacturing Town area types (growing by 3.7 and 3.6 percentage points respectively). There were also strong increases across Centres with Industry, and perhaps less expectedly, among New and Growing Towns. While it may be too early in the recession to be conclusive, this emerging evidence suggests the weakest labour markets are being disproportionately hit by increased recession unemployment.

This indicates the underlying labour market weakness in these areas which makes them more vulnerable. Critically it also means they will need more employment growth proportionally than other area types in order to get back to pre-recession employment levels; levels at which they were beginning to see a reduction in their IB stock numbers.

Figure 3: Rate of claimant unemployment for working age men by ONS area type: May 2009, and change, April 2008 - April 2009

	Claimant count rate May 2009	Percentage points change in the claimant count rate April 2008-2009
Regional Centres	6.6	2.8
Centres with Industry	8.6	3.5
Thriving London Periphery	4.1	2.1
London Suburbs	5.4	2.2
London Centre	5.0	1.5
London Cosmopolitan	7.0	2.1
Prospering Smaller Towns	4.3	2.5
New and Growing Towns	6.2	3.3
Prospering Southern England	3.1	2.0
Coastal and Countryside	4.6	2.2
Industrial Hinterlands	8.0	3.6
Manufacturing Towns	7.1	3.7

Sources: DWP Benefits Data, Census, Mid-Year Population Estimates

Recent regional employment projections produced in last autumn by Cambridge Econometrics and the Institute for Employment Research, and covering the period 2007-2017, suggested a much slower period of economic and employment growth for the national economy in the medium term. They suggest per annum employment growth nationally will be around 0.6 per cent over the period, with regional variations ranging from 0.3 in the North East to 0.9 in London. Bearing in mind the depth of the current recession, and the very large rises in unemployment seen, it is likely to take some areas ten years, or in some cases even longer, to recover to pre-recession employment levels. This problem is likely to be particularly acute in the former industrial areas which began with weaker labour markets, have suffered steeper rises in unemployment, and are largely in the regions predicted to grow the least.

Significantly, the changes to the sickness benefit system will mean that unlike in past recessions job losses will continue to feed largely into unemployment increases. The impacts of this increased unemployment will, as has been shown,

disproportionately affect the weakest labour markets, which are likely to face high and sustained levels of unemployment. This rise in unemployment threatens the potential impact ESA may have in tackling long-term worklessness issues.

There is a need to create jobs in these areas not just to alleviate the current unemployment impacts but also to provide the employment opportunities for stock IB customers who will be moved onto ESA between 2009 and 2013, and who may otherwise simply find themselves at the back of the jobs queue. This raises important questions about the government role with regards both direct employment creation (for example through public works), and in influencing the spatial distribution of job creation towards those areas worst hit, and starting from the weakest position.

What difference will ESA make?

Welfare reform and the introduction of ESA should reduce the almost complete detachment from the labour market which occurred among many former industrial workers across old industrial areas in previous periods of recession. It should hold both unemployed, and some inactive groups, closer to the labour market, through regular contact with JCP which was not the norm under the previous IB regime. But the recession does raise an important question about how those with health limitations (IB stock claimants) can now compete with newly unemployed groups. Furthermore it is probable that the employment needs of the claimant unemployed, who will receive more intensive forms of support under the new Flexible New Deal programme, and who represent a more politically sensitive measure of labour market disadvantage, will be prioritised over those on inactive benefits.

The data on inactivity from previous recessions show the very long recovery period in some areas to loss of jobs. This recession is likely to cause higher, rather than hidden unemployment, and with a distinct geography – worst and longest in the weakest labour markets. The success of the ESA policy therefore depends heavily on faster employment growth than previously experienced or currently predicted.

Conclusions

This paper has discussed the labour market adjustments which occurred previously in response to reduced demand for labour in Britain's old industrial areas, describing how the most significant adjustment has been through increasing levels of economic inactivity, particularly supported through rising incidence of Incapacity claims. However, it has also been shown that IB rates had begun to

decline since 2001, in the later period of the long economic boom, and that this decline was most noticeable in the high IB claims areas.

The likely impact which the reform of the sickness benefits system will have on future labour market adjustments were then considered. The argument which has been advanced is that unlike during recent previous periods of weakened demand for labour the reforms mean that job losses are likely to feed more fully into increasing incidence of claimant unemployment. The emerging evidence presented here shows that so far, while claimant unemployment has risen across the board, the biggest proportional increases have been in industrial area types, which are concentrated in areas across the North of England, parts of Scotland and South Wales. This suggests that high unemployment is likely to be most concentrated in those areas beginning with the weakest labour markets, and these areas are likely to experience relatively long periods of high unemployment. This throws considerable doubt on the ability of ESA to continue the trend which had begun in recent years, and to reduce numbers of sickness benefit claimants to anything like the number the government has committed to.

This suggests the need to consider more fully the possibilities of demand side interventions in the weakest labour markets. While demand side responses have never been activated in response to high levels of inactivity, or 'hidden unemployment', the political sensitivity of the claimant unemployment measure, which is likely to be high for a prolonged period, may mean such policies are given more serious consideration. This would have the potential to benefit both unemployed and inactive groups.

Bibliography

- Beatty, C. and Fothergill, S. (1996) 'Labour market adjustment in areas of chronic industrial decline: The case of the UK coalfields' in *Regional Studies* 30:7, pp 627-640.
- Beatty, C. and Fothergill, S. (2004) *The diversion from 'unemployment' to 'sickness' across British regions and districts* Sheffield, Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research.
- Beatty, C., Fothergill, S. and Powell, R. (2005) *Twenty years on: Has the economy of the coalfields recovered?* Sheffield Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research.
- Beatty, C., Fothergill, S., Gore, T. and Powell, R. (2007) *The real level of unemployment 2007* Sheffield Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research
- Beatty, C., Fothergill, S., Houston, D., Powell, R. and Sissons, P. (2009) *Women on Incapacity Benefits: A Statistical Overview*. Project Working Paper, available at (<http://www.geographyandgender.org/publications>)
- Bell B., and Smith, J. (2004), *Health, Disability Insurance and Labour Force Participation*, Working Paper 218, Bank of England
- Berthoud, R., and Blekesaune, M., (2006) *Persistent Employment Disadvantage, 1974 to 2003* ISER Working Paper 2006-9
- Bryson, A. and McKay, S. (eds) (1994) *Is it worth working? Factors affecting labour supply*, London, Policy Studies Institute.
- Campbell, M. (2000) 'Reconnecting the long term unemployed to labour market opportunity: The case for a 'local active labour market policy'' in *Regional Studies* 34:7, pp 655-668.
- Department for Work and Pensions (2005) *Department for Work and Pensions Five Year Strategy*, Norwich, HMSO.
- Department for Work and Pensions (2006), *A new deal for welfare: Empowering people to work*, Cm 6730, HMSO
- Department for Work and Pensions (2008) *Impact Assessment of the Employment and Support Allowance Regulations 2008*

(<http://dwp.gov.uk/resourcecentre/ImpactAssessment180308.pdf>)

- Department for Work and Pensions (2008), *No one written off: reforming welfare to reward responsibility*, Cm 7363, TSO
- Department for Work and Pensions (2008), *Raising expectations and increasing support: reforming welfare for the future*, Cm 7506, TSO
- Fieldhouse, E. and Hollywood, E. (1999) 'Life after mining: Hidden unemployment and changing patterns of economic activity amongst miners in England and Wales, 1981-1991' in *Work, Employment and Society* 13:3, pp 483-502.
- Fothergill, S. (2001) 'The True Scale of the Regional Problem in the UK' in *Regional Studies* 35:3, pp 241-246.
- Green, A. and Owen D. (1998) *Where are the jobless? Changing unemployment and non-employment in cities and regions*, Bristol, The Policy Press.
- Gregg P (2008), *Realising potential: A vision for personalised conditionality and support*, TSO
- Kemp, P. (2006), 'Comparing trends in disability benefit receipt', Kemp, P., Sunden, A. and Bakker Tauritz, B *Sick Societies? Trends in disability benefits in post-industrial welfare states*, International Social Security Association
- Kemp, P., Sunden, A. and Bakker Tauritz, B. (2006) *Sick societies? Trends in disability benefits in post-industrial welfare states*, Geneva, International Social Security Association.
- Martin, R. (2000) 'Local labour markets: Their nature, performance, and regulation' in *The Oxford Handbook of Economic Geography*, Oxford, Oxford University Press pp 455-476.
- McKay, R. (1999), 'Work and nonwork: a more difficult labour market', *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 31
- ONS (2002) *Measuring Unemployment*
(<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/CCI/nugget.asp?ID=165>)
- ONS (2009) The impact of the recession on the labour market
(http://www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/theme_labour/Impact-of-recession-on-LM.pdf)

- Peck, J. (2001) *Workfare States*, New York, Guildford Press.
- Peck, J. and Theodore, N. (2000) 'Beyond 'employability'' in *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 24, pp 729-749.
- Peck, J. and Theodore, N. (2001) 'Exporting workfare/importing welfare-to-work: exploring the politics of Third Way policy transfer' in *Political Geography* 20, pp427-460.
- Turok, I. and Edge, N (1999), *The jobs gap in Britain's cities: Employment loss and labour market consequences*, The Policy Press.
- Turok, I. and Edge, N. (1999) *The jobs gap in Britain's cities: Employment loss and labour market consequences* Bristol, The Policy Press.
- Warwick Institute for Employment Research/ Cambridge Econometrics (2008) *Working Futures 2007-2017*
(<http://www.ukces.org.uk/pdf/Working%20Futures%2004%20FINAL%20090220.pdf>)
- Webster, D. (2000) 'The geographical concentration of labour market disadvantage' in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 16:1, pp 114-128.
- Webster, D. (2006) 'Welfare reform: Facing up to the geography of worklessness' in *Local Economy* 21:2, pp 107-116.
- Wilson, W. (1997) *When Work Disappears: The world of the new urban poor*, New York, Vintage Books.